/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243 "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
166 the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/9 cont'd/
131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
●166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

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Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/24 cont'd/

243 only the second period. If the dry fields are not planted with miscellaneous crops during the first period, they are simply left fallow. But in actuality, even in the Li area, wet rice fields which can be cultivated twice a year, are very few, and those which are held by the Miao are even rarer.

The Miao still do not know the use of the sickle for reaping in harvesting. They gather the stalks by hand, tie them together in sheaves, and then put them into a ho-ts'ang /drying bin/ to be dried by exposure to the wind or by the sun. The rectangular drying bin is built of bamboo with thatch on top and all four sides left open. The floor is made of long planks on which the grain is spread. After it has been thoroughly dried, the grain is moved to a granary, which is also rectangular, is built of wooden boards covered with thatch, and has a raised floor. It is all shut up except for a door on the front side. The grain is neatly stored in the granary and is not taken out until it is needed. The milling process consists of placing the grain into a rectangular wooden mortar in which the grain is pounded with a wooden pestle to remove the husks. /25/ Then the grain is once more put into a wooden mortar to be hulled into rice. The rice mortar is circular just like that used by the Li.

311 241 The everyday food of the Miao comes almost entirely from tilling the mountain slopes. Only a very few comparatively wealthy Miao own flat rice fields. Since each piece of hilly land cannot be used continuously for more than two or three years before the soil becomes depleted, it is necessary to stop planting it. For instance, a mountain area planted in this way may be quite large, but it is not difficult to have the total area completely tilled by rotation [34] within eight to ten years, and the soil of the whole area must be allowed to recover. At this time then the Miao must seek fresh ● 166 land in other localities. Therefore, the Miao frequently move once every few years, or at least once in a decade; thus their life is as unsettled as a drifting ship. I have observed this situation with my own eyes during the period of my study.

244 245 They cultivate very few vegetables, but sugar cane and bananas may be seen occasionally.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

[p. 40]

THE HAINANESE MIAO

(Miss) M. M. MONINGER

101 162 Far down in the mountainous interior of Hainan, principally in the districts of Loh-hoe and Deng-ang, several hundred Miao villages may be found. These Miao people, essentially a nomadic race, build their rude villages, live on the hillside a few years until the natural fertility of the soil seems to them to be exhausted, and then move to a virgin soil. Hainan's population embraces three great divisions—the Loi aborigines (several tribes of which have become much like the Chinese in everything except language), the Chinese and the Miao. The Chinese seem to be unable to distinguish between "wild" Loi and Miao, classing them all indiscriminately as Loi robbers, but they are very distinct peoples, each tribe having its own language and customs.

166 The Miao people are not native to Hainan. They themselves say that they came from Kwangsi five or six generations ago. They are practically all of one tribe, judging by the embroidered head kerchief of the women, but a few villages of a different type are found in Deng-ang. We would be very glad indeed to get in touch with Miao people in other parts of China who speak the same dialect as our people, and if any readers of this article recognize from the following descriptions, Miao who are similar to the Hainanese Miao, correspondence would be welcomed.

121 114 It has been my privilege, at two different times, to spend periods of three weeks each, itinerating among these people, and to have seen a number of their villages, both heathen and Christian. Certain general characteristics are true of all their villages and a description of one would apply to all. Let me take as typical the village of Baêh-túi-vóe or White-water-tail.

361 This village is situated near a lovely rocky river, on a tiny hill rising from the stream. Whether you come to the village from the north or from the south, you must scramble down a narrow, precipitous foot-path from the top of a mountain to the village, your carriers balancing their loads as best they can, and your pony in infinite danger of falling

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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as the name of the gentry or clan of a state. Thus, Cheng Yung wrote: "The Miao-min are the princes of the Chiu-li. These princes were corrupted by Shao Hao and abandoned virtuous ways. Like Ch'ih Yu, they were punished heavily." Ling asserted that the Ch'ing Dynasty scholar Wang Ming-sheng was among those misinterpreting the connection between the modern Miao and the ancient Miao. Wang wrote: "The San-Miao are the descendants of the Chiu-li. The Li and the Miao were both names for the Nan-Man (Southern Man), and are similar to those of today." Japanese historians, in Ling's opinion, also have added to the misinterpretation, so that many present-day Chinese and western scholars have accepted it without question.[39]

Ling, however, argued that not only is there no connection between the San-Miao of ancient times and the Miao of modern times, but that there is a distinction between the early San-Miao princes or San-Miao State and the subjects of the San-Miao. He presented evidence to show that the subjects of the San-Miao of the north Hu-nan area were the Chiu-li. As to the princes of San-Miao, the Shih Chi says that Chin Yun's clan had the surname Chiang and that they were the progeny of Emperor Yen (B.C. 2737-2697). Evidently, according to this line of argument, the San-Miao princes perhaps with or without a portion of their Chiu-li subjects were banished to San-wei in Kan-su for refractory behavior. The rest of their subject Chiu-li tribesmen were left behind in the Hu-nan area.

On the basis of the banishment of the San-Miao to the Tun-huang area of Kan-su, the T'ang Dynasty writer Tu Yu appears to have drawn the conclusion that the Chiu-li were the forefathers of the Hsi-ch'iang or Western Ch'iang. This runs up against an obstacle in modern ethnography, since the Western Ch'iang are found to be the forefathers of the modern Lolo, whereas the Chiu-li are supposed to be directly related to the Chuang or T'ai group of Li tribes, who are entirely different culturally.[41] A logical hypothetical solution would solve the dilemma if the San-Miao princes were of a culturally different group from their Chiu-li subjects, but this would have to be proved

According to the ancient Chinese records, prior to the Chou Dynasty, the distribution of the peoples in South China were as follows: South of the Yang-tzu, the Chiu-li were the most powerful group, occupying the area between T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes. West of this area were the Man (presumably in the west Hu-nan and Hu-pei area).

166 West of the Man were the Mao people. From the Spring
174 and Autumn period, the Man came into ascendancy, and gradually they began to migrate southeastward, invading the area of the Chiu-li. The Chiu-li then are supposed to have retreated gradually southward across the Wu Ling into Ling-nan. The Mao, on the other hand, advanced from Hu-pei into Ssu-ch'uan and then into Kuei-chou. The various historical works since the Han refer to the Li people as living throughout Ling-nan and Hai-nan Island, as well as Tongking. These Li were of the same group of people as the Chiu-li of former times. Thus, the Li appear to have once occupied the Central Yang-tzu Plain area and then retreated southward under the pressure of the Man and Mao. They represent the early T'ai of Ch'u Kingdom. The Mao and Man, on the other hand, appear to represent the later dominant tribes of Ch'u, and were related to the Miao of today.[42]

The evidence presented by Ling indicates that the original situation of the Mao during the later part of the Chou period (Spring and Autumn period) was within the borders of P'ing-lu Hsien in Shan-hsi. After this period, because of the calamities and precarious livelihood of the Warring States Period and the struggle between the Han and the Ch'u states, the Mao gradually migrated from the territories of the states of Chin and Hsiang to Pa and Shu in present-day Ssu-ch'uan. From Pa and Shu they drifted to Yueh-sui (now the Hsi-ch'ang area of eastern Hsi-k'ang). The Book of Poetry has the line: "Like Mao, like Man," because at this time the territory of the Mao was adjacent to the territory of the Man. The Mao were west of the Man, and for this reason Cheng Ch'ien calls them the Hsi-Yi or Western Yi. The Mao were close kin to the Man, according to Chang P'ing-lin, and Ling Shun-sheng went along with this conclusion. During the earliest historical times in China the Man inhabited the southwest part of Ho-nan around the present city of Nan-yang. By the time of the Chou Dynasty, the Man were occupying the drainage area of the Han and Yang-tzu and were called the Ching-Man from the name of the political division including the Hupei-Hunan territories. The Man tribes grew in power and prosperity from the Chou to the T'ang period, and the term Man gradually changed to take in all the tribes of the south. Since the Man (Miao) were slope farmers and mountain dwellers, their growth in strength here may be explained by the lack of competition for their pre-

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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ferred habitat, because the T'ai were valley bottom inhabitants and land-users. The term Mao probably became hidden under the general term Man, especially since they were similar peoples. For this reason the term Mao disappeared from historical records for a thousand years. Or perhaps the Mao had migrated from Yueh-sui eastward and entered Kuei-chou where they became lost to Chinese contact. During the long intervening period, according to Ling, phonetical changes occurred in the language, and Mao thus emerged into more recent historical times as Miao. The migration of this group of Miao people, the "Mao", therefore, was one that led southward from Shan-hsi through Hupei, and Ssu-ch'uan to Kuei-chou through the course of over three thousand years.[43]

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The sum of the foregoing arguments leads the present writer to the following conclusions: Definite proof has not been adduced to show whether the Hu-nan San-Miao are or are not related to the Kan-su San-Miao. The likelihood that they belong to the same ethnic group is strong, however, and this common ethnic group is that of the "Man". The term "Man", although used during certain periods of history as a general term for all the southern non-Han tribes peoples, is used to denote the Miao ethnic group specifically during other long periods, but is not used as a specific term for the T'ai ethnic group. The term "Man" appears to be a phonetic rendition of the term "Mon" as used in Mon Khmer to which ethnic classification the Miao belong. The San-Miao of Hu-nan were cultural predecessors of the modern Miao and constituted an alien ruling group over the Chiu-li (Nine Li) tribes of the T'ai ethnic group. These San-Miao (Miao or Man) in the Hu-nan area were late-comers compared to the Chiu-li who were earlier inhabitants: i.e., the T'ai groups of the Yang-tzu and South China area preceded the Miao in the occupance sequence. The Miao came as an alien invader into the land occupied predominantly by aboriginal T'ai and were successful at times in subjugating some of the T'ai tribes.

At this point the discussion in the preceding section 6 may be followed up: that is, the relation of the Miao to the Ch'u Kingdom. The Ch'u gentry claimed the quasi-mythical Han-Chinese Emperor Chuan Hsu as their ancestor. Chuan Hsu was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor. A branch of Chuan Hsu's line remained in Ssu-ch'uan and reportedly became the Ch'u Clan. Whether this story is so, or whether it was invented by the later Ch'u rulers

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166 174

to avoid being looked at askance by the Han-Chinese states of the north, the forefathers of the Ch'u derived from the upper reaches of the Yang-tzu tributaries and migrated eastward to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, according to Chiang Ying-liang.[44] The Ch'u were just one branch of the Miao cultural group, he claimed. The Later Han History tells of the Pan-shun Man tribes who lived on both banks of the middle reaches of the Chia-ling Chiang near Lan-chung in Ssu-ch'uan at the time of the Ch'in Empire. A branch of the tribe moved northward to occupy the Han-chung area of southern Shen-hsi. Another branch moved down the Yang-tzu eastward to occupy the lands of Hu-pei and Hu-nan to live with the various tribes that had already moved into the area. These Pan-shun Man also have the P'an-hu myth and presumably were of the same group as the Ch'u, both being related to the present-day Miao, said Chiang. During the Period of Division between North and South (5th and 6th Centuries), they were called the Ching-yang Man in the south and the Man-Liao in the north. The Liao were another branch of the Miao ethnic group, according to Chiang. Lao and Liao appear to be two pronunciations for the same name. Cochrane followed Lacouperie in calling them Shan or T'ai people.[45] Moreover, Eberhard advanced the view that the Miao originally were Yao strongly mixed with T'ai,[47] while Ling Shun-sheng claimed that the name Yao became attached to the Miao after they entered Hu-nan and Kuang-hsi.[48] Ling has not furnished adequate proof for this, however.

The T'ung-k'ao-ssu-yi says that the Liao were first seen in the northwest part of Ssu-ch'uan and later migrated southeastward to the Min Chiang, Pa Chiang and Chia-ling Chiang areas. From there they migrated during Sui and T'ang times (6th to 10th Centuries A.D.) down the Yang-tzu to Hu-pei and Hu-nan, some directing themselves northeastward into China Proper, while others drifted southward into Kuei-chou and Ling-nan. Subsequent to the T'ang, the name Liao became merged with Man to become Liao-Man (this again indicates their close relationship to each other). It also is possible to interpret Liao-Man as Liao and Man, indicating two separate groups. From this account, Chiang grouped as members of the Miao "race" the Ch'u, Pa, Pan-shun Man and Liao, all of whom migrated by the same general routes to the T'ung-t'ing and P'o-yang Lakes region, where the Wu Ling Man had long since established themselves when the

2: Wiens G-4 (no date) 1954 AF17 South China
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Han-Chinese first contacted the Southern Man tribes.[49] 174

It is clear from this grouping that Chiang did not distinguish the people generally considered by Western scholars to belong to the T'ai group such as the Pa, the Liao (Lao), and Ch'u, from the Man or the Miao. Hsu Sung-shih appeared to suffer from a similar tendency to overlook ethnological and cultural differences in arguing certain theories, while emphasizing them in arguing other theories. By a complicated philological juggling, for instance he tried to demonstrate that the Miao, Yao and Chuang or T'ai merely form three sub-groups of the southern branch of the same Chinese people as those of the Han group. While the northern Han-Chinese are descendants of the Yellow Emperor, he said, these southern tribes are descendants of Emperor Yen or Shen-nung, and both are equally Chinese.[50] 166

A largely pastoral people originally, the Miao migrated from western Ssu-ch'uan for two reasons, according to Chiang: (1) to seek new pastures (2) to escape the pressure of other peoples. In accordance with the first reason, they migrated toward the plains, looked for well-watered grasslands, sought warmer regions, (this does not accord with Miao preference for the cool high mountain slopes) and they followed the rivers.

It was the pressure of the south-moving Tibetan Ch'iang people that forced the migration of the Miao whose old homeland was in eastern Hsi-k'ang and northeast of Ch'eng-tu in the Tzu-t'ung region. The Western Ch'iang who moved into this area became the later Lolo people, according to Chiang. Their southward movement forced the Miao to migrate downstream. This Ch'iang pressure can be seen from some historical incidents. In the Records of the southern Man of the Later Han History, the account reads that: in the 3rd year of Kuang-ho (A.D. 180), the Emperor wished to raise a great army. He asked the Census Commissioner of Yi-chou to investigate the strategy for pacification. The Han-ching registrar reported as follows: The Pan-shun Man have seven clans. Their forefathers shot the White Tiger and gained merit in earlier times (during the Ch'in Dynasty). They have become Sinicized and their people are valiant and brave warriors. When the Ch'iang invaded Han-ch'uan (Han-chung Department) and disrupted administration at the beginning of the reign of An-ti (A.D. 107), the Pan-shun came to the rescue and routed the Ch'iang with a great slaughter. Hence they have been called the

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M 174 166 Supernatural Warriors. In the second year of the reign of Huan-ti (A.D. 148) there occurred another great Ch'iang invasion. It truly again depended upon the Pan-shun reinforcements to break the invadors.

S 174 166 M 174 166 The above account, said Chiang, shows that the Miao peoples in the west had borne the brunt of Ch'iang attacks. In the course of time, the frequency of Ch'iang outbreaks finally forced the Miao to reassess their situation and to decide upon moving away from the constant Ch'iang pressure.[51]

From Chou and pre-Chou times down to the end of the Han in the 3rd Century A.D., therefore, the Miao peoples were migrating eastward down the Yang-tzu drainage from Ssu-ch'uan. This was a steady drift and not a single mass movement. However, two major epochs in this process are evident. The first one involved the settling of the Wu Ling and the Ch'ang-sha Man in the upper Hu-nan area. The second major movement followed the north bank of the Yang-tzu, emerged from the Yang-tzu Gorge Mountains in the vicinity of present-day Tzu-kuei District upriver from Yi-ch'ang. Here these Miao settled for a period. Then they moved farther down river and spread out to occupy the whole Central Yang-tzu Basin, according to Chiang. These were the Ch'u people who formed the Ch'u State. It was the steadily increasing Miao settlers from Ssu-ch'uan that led to the emergence of the powerful Ch'u State, said Chiang.[52] There is some support for this contention that the Ch'u chieftains were of the Miao group, if it be conceded that the Man of the Chou period were in fact Miao. For we have from the mouth of the Ch'u king himself that: "We are Man barbarians and have nothing to do with Chinese titles." (On the other hand, Hsu claimed that the Ching-Man were only the early names of T'ai peoples in the T'ung-t'ing Lake area, although he failed to provide convincing proof of this.)[53] Moreover, Eickstedt has pointed out that Erkes in a study of ancient Ch'u vocabulary seemed to find some connection with the Miao language, although Eickstedt did not agree with his conclusions. The language at least was demonstrated to be different from that of Han-Chinese. Nevertheless, Ch'u is constantly linked in historical sources with Yueh and at the same time even more sources link Ch'u with the Pa people and Shu, all of whom appear to have been T'ai. Ch'u, said Eberhard, appears to have had a sub-stratum of Yao that, intermixed gradually with the Yueh, evolved

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from T'ai. It then had a thin super-stratum of Pa people. With its Pa culture strongly influenced by Tibetan (Miao?) culture, imposed upon it. Thus, it is obviously at least controversial whether the Ch'u were of T'ai or of Miao stock. This problem would be easier to solve could we accept Lacouperie's adjective "Mon-Taic" for a common stock from which both Miao (mon) and T'ai derived. But, as Cochrane has pointed out,[54] considerable doubt is thrown on this theory by the fact that they originally used quite different sets of words in their language. Seidenfaden characterizes Lacouperie's "Mon-taic" theory "fantastic".[55]

In the view of the present writer, the explanation of the contradictions and perplexities lies in the multi-ethnic structure of the Ch'u state. The Ch'u rulers may very well have been Sinicized "Man" of the Miao ethnic group, but their subjects most probably included both Miao and T'ai ethnic groups and undoubtedly Yao and other groups as well. The valley-dwelling, rice-cultivating T'ai probably formed the bulk of the population, and it is likely enough that a T'ai variety of speech was the most widely spoken tongue in the Ch'u domain. When we consider the examples of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties in China, we see an alien ethnic ruling group gradually adopting the language and culture of its predominant Chinese subjects. The same type of process may well have occurred with an alien Miao (Man) ruling stratum over a T'ai sub-stratum in which T'ai vocabulary either crept into the language of the ruling stratum or in which the Miao rulers adopted Sino-T'ai speech. This would explain why the few words that have come down from the Ch'u speech appear to be T'ai and why Erkes found evidences connecting the Ch'u speech with Miao speech. It seems to this writer to be a mistake to regard Ch'u as a single ethnic entity. Ch'u should be regarded as a political entity under Man (Miao) rulers who had become highly Sinicized by the last half of the Chou Dynasty.

Originally, the Ch'u derived from western Ssu-ch'uan. As the Ch'u tribe moved eastward, it assumed the leadership of the earlier Miao tribes that had preceded the Ch'u in the migration. Gathering strength, the kingdom incorporated many smaller non-Miao states and tribes, as described in the Ch'u genealogy. During the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, the Ch'u absorbed 49 states, large and small, including parts of Ho-nan, Shan-tung, An-hui, Hupei, Hu-nan, and Shen-hsi. Certainly, in language groups

39: Bernatzik--355 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AE5

Volume Two

Chapter 13

Settlement and House Construction

The Meau as well as the Akha of Thailand are seminomads who change their residence sites every couple of years. They decide on such a move, however, by no means lightheartedly or out of nomadic impulses, as Credner (1) intimates, but rather

1. IV, p. 70.

compelling circumstances induce them to undertake the indescribable labor of moving a village. The main reason for it is the exhaustion of the cultivable soil as a result of cultivating clearings without fertilization. Depending on the fertility of the soil, it yields rice, the principal food of the population in northern Thailand, for two to four years. After four to ten years, all the cultivable land in the vicinity of a village is exhausted, and the people must contemplate a move if they do not want to starve. Other important reasons are warlike events and legal insecurity, especially in China, or the imposition of taxes that are too high, as in Burma or Indochina (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," the section, "Attitude of the Various Colonizers").

The Meau also move their villages if epidemics have broken out or if the shaman predicts a misfortune for the village. Among the Meau the decision to move the village is made by the assembly of all the men of the village capable of bearing arms (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Popular Assembly). In the assembly, the opinion of the chief, as well as that of the shaman, carries great weight. The wish of the two is decisive, not theoretically, but in practice.

/259 cont./

●166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can [492] carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/260 cont./

166 484 [201] If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[361] [731] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migration [171] differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [481] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly looking [283] for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [285] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/261 cont./

166 bellowing, and cheering can be heard for miles. Consequently
484 it seldom happens that the advanced guard encounters game,
for the larger animals of the forest have usually taken cover
in plenty of time. During the migration, a playful or childlike
[157] impulse for destruction against the forest is also expressed, which
[824] leads the people to damage plants and trees out of sheer wanton-
ness. For example, I never saw a Meau pass a rubber liana /262/
without cutting the plant with the chopping knife merely for the
pleasure of seeing the juice ooze out.

361 For the choice of the settlement site, the altitude is of
133 fundamental significance. One can even say that the settlements
of the Meau are actually limited to certain altitudes. I myself
did not find any Meau village below 1,200 meters in altitude,
and other authors (1), too, are struck by the settlement pattern,

1. Credner, II, p. 138.

limited to certain altitudes, of the various mountain and forest peoples in Thailand.

361 Within these altitude limits, the Meau carefully seek out
a suitable slope. They never build a village on a level surface,
a saddle, or on the peak of a mountain. They most prefer to
choose a place which lies just below the crest line of a mountain
range.

In territories in which the Meau must reckon with hostile influences, they lay out their dwelling sites so as to make access as difficult as possible. Thus, Marabail (2) writes of the Meau

2. Page 133.

of Tonkin: "They choose the steep inclines of the mountains
[417] for their dwellings... They reach these heights by means of
bamboo ladders tied together, which are sometimes three hun-
dred meters long."

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/262 cont./

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166
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Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II, p. 183.

M houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are
[482] put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small
361 number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to
[171] ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty
A houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the
[361] greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadorn (5),

5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

/395 cont./

726 most suitable in the difficult forested mountainous terrain inhabited by the Meau. In addition, an attempt is made to reach and occupy all the passes ahead of the opponent.

The war tactics of the Meau consist of surprise attacks from ambush, preferably during the night. At first only small sections of troops are sent out, while the numerically stronger reserves are held back. Single combats are unknown. If the

727 Meau are victorious, they chop off the head of every slain or
[634] captured opponent and send these trophies to their tsŭn kŏăn, the great chief, who pays money for them. Thus, there are no war trophies in the true sense. No harm is done to the women and children of the enemies; they are respectively married or adopted by the warriors. Enemy property, too, is not

[643] destroyed as a rule. The war booty is brought to the king, or
[634] lacking such a one, to the great chief for distribution among the warriors of his district.

726 Usually the battles are not as bloody as one might assume from the description. The fleeing enemy can soon escape his pursuers in the primeval forest, and the women and children immediately left their villages with /396/ all their movable property as soon as the spies reported the approach of enemy troops.

721 The purpose of war today among the Meau is exclusively to protect their own living space. Since as far back as the memory of man they have been in a defensive position in relation to their

[166] powerful neighbors, and since their constant migration southward is closely related to their search for such a safe living space, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether before that time other grounds for war were decisive. In any case the principle of only fighting tribal enemies prevails, whereas nothing is reported about wars between Meau tribes.

728 In the same way that an official declaration of war precedes the battles, war is also ended only by an appropriate ceremony. The opponents meet without weapons, eat a meal together, and declare that they want to be friends from now on. The Meau are also familiar with the truce, however, which

/461 cont./

577 aforementioned honesty which condemns lying to such an extent that it is not resorted to even if, in giving testimony, a father could thereby save his son, as I have already discussed in detail in the chapter, "Law and /462/ the Administration of Justice."

181 153 648 Considering their urge for freedom, the Meau can otherwise be designated as thoroughly disciplined.

Moreover, they have both presence of mind and the ability to make decisions, and are also very enterprising. While I was staying in northern Thailand in 1937, a group of about 100 Meau including men, women, and children quite unexpectedly

● [166] appeared in the Thailand city of Lampang. They indicated that they wanted to seek out new residence sites farther to the south. They were allowed to camp at the railway station, and after a week railway coaches were put at their disposal, and they were actually transported to the southwest where they were allotted new dwelling space in the mountains there. If one considers what it means for the Meau to descend into the hated valleys and, in addition, to venture into the city of a Thai people, one will be convinced that such enterprise and determination are not readily found among any of the other mountain peoples of Farther India.

181 153 The Meau face the tasks of life quite methodically, and accordingly Savina (1) characterizes them: "Accustomed to

1. II, p. 185.

disentangling everything alone, a Meau never falls into difficulties." Marabail (2) comes to the following conclusion: "Whereas

2. Page 463.

the Man (Yau) is full of imagination and religion, the Meau is a materialist..."

39: Bernatzik--678 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 A01 Thailand A01
Miao AE5

T 147 563 /501 cont./ the humid tropics and in which thousands of Whites had settled. The bearers of such European names, however, are today no longer distinguishable in any way from their black neighbors.

Even today, the mountain peoples of Farther India in Thailand live exclusively at altitudes between 1,000 and 2,000 meters, where the climate is essentially different from that in the tropical valleys. Just as in the case of the Whites who were still unfamiliar with controlling tropical diseases, the tropics are the ruin of the mountain peoples when they try to settle in the valleys. I myself was able to confirm this repeatedly. For example, the Lahu allowed themselves /502/ to be pushed into lower regions in places in northwest Thailand and in a period of a few years suffered crushing losses from tropical epidemics. Again, among the Meau, I observed that even a temporary sojourn in the valley lowlands of the Lao produced severe malaria epidemics among them. In Kengtung, where the mountain peoples, especially the Akha and Lisu, who visit the markets of the Schan /Shan/ need only a stay of one single night in the region of the market to be infected.

This inability of the mountain tribes to become acclimated has also drawn the attention of other authors. In the literature there are noteworthy comments on this subject, which stand in marked contrast to the opinion of Heine-Geldern (1),

1. II, Vol. II, p. 746.

who, to be sure, did not have the opportunity to study conditions on the spot. He writes: "However much individual tribes cling to the mountains, the important step down into the plains is taken at a favorable opportunity." Now as far as the Meau and Lahu are concerned, there can be no doubt that this step was repeatedly attempted, but it is likewise certain that it was always unsuccessful and the mountain people each time had to pay for the attempt with heavy biological losses. Lajonquière (2)

M [147] [166] [648]

2. II, p. 311.

/502 cont./

T 147 166 563 M 147 166 648 gives a typical example in describing the struggles of the Meau with a Thai people, the Tho, who had been defeated by the Meau: "Be that as it may, the surviving 'Tho' would have had to emigrate if the Meau had been able to become acclimatized in the low-lying valleys where the greatest number of wet-rice fields are. Happily for the Tho, the conquerors were unable to hold out in the heavy and humid atmosphere of the lowlands and had to return as quickly as possible to higher altitudes, leaving behind for the former owners all the rice fields lying below an altitude of 800 meters."

Maspero, too, made interesting observations. He speaks of the dispersed Meau groups in Tonkin who live as enclaves between foreign peoples and are completely separated from the main tribe. He proceeds literally: "They would have completely lost their individuality if they had not been incapable of acclimatizing themselves below an altitude of 800 to 1,000 meters; that has saved them."

It is interesting that Von Eickstedt (3) touches upon the same

3. III, p. 5.

subject, but from the /503/ economic aspect. He writes, for instance: "Miao in the plains are actually no longer Miao; it simply cannot be -- they would then have to become Chinese or Thai if only for economic reasons."

T 563 177 How strongly the manner of settlement of the mountain peoples is tied to climatic prerequisites is also shown by the fact that while among the tribes settled in southwest China plow-cultivation and livestock-raising form the economic bases, in Thailand only hoe-cultivation is practiced. The breeding of cattle and horses was likewise abandoned in places in Thailand if the new living area demanded it. Here we clearly see that the cultural change, in these cases an impoverishment, is conditioned by the racially determined inability of the peoples in question to adapt to the tropics, in other words, by their genetic make-up.